

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-02 PM-03 SAJ-01 PA-01 PRS-01 GAC-01

EB-03 IO-03 ACDA-10 RSR-01 /072 W
----- 116570

R 042135 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4861

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BONN 6474

LIMDIS -- NOFORN

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (INSERTION OF SECTION INFORMATION)

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FW, (BREZHNEV)

SUBJ: BREZHNEV VISIT TO FRG: DIFFICULTIES OVER BERLIN

MATTERS PARTIALLY RESOLVED

REF: BONN 6205

1. SUMMARY: FRG FONOFF SOURCE TOLD US IN STRICT
CONFIDENCE THAT AT NOON MEETING MAY 4 BETWEEN SOVIET
AMBASSADOR FALIN AND STATE SECRETARY FRANK SOME OF THE
OUTSTANDING BERLIN PROBLEMS WERE CLEARED UP. SEVERAL
OTHERS REMAIN OPEN. THE GERMAN SIDE IS NONETHLESS UPSET
OVER THE SOVIET MISCHIEF- MAKING ON BERLIN MATTERS AND
IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE CHANCELLOR WILL RAISE THE ISSUE
DURING BREZHNEV' S VISIT (MAY 18-22). END SUMMARY

2. FRG FONOFF SOURCE TOLD US THAT AFTER A WEEK OF
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WRANGLING AND SEEMING SOVIET INTRACTABILITY ON ALL ISSUES RELATING TO BERLIN IN THE VARIOUS OUTSTANDING BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS, FALIN MADE SOME COMPROMISE PROPOSALS AT HIS MAY 4 MEETING WITH FRANK WHICH THE LATTER FOUND ACCEPTABLE.

3. SPECIFICALLY, THE SOVIETS AGREED TO USE THE BERLIN CLAUSE PATTERNED ON THAT USED IN THE FRG- USSR TRADE AGREEMENT OF 1972 FOR INCLUSION IN THE CULTURAL, ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENTS WHICH HAVE RECENTLY BEEN NEGOTIATED. HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS WOULD PROPOSE TO MAKE AN ORAL DECLARATION AT THE TIME OF SIGNING EACH OF THEM TO THE EFFECT THAT THE INCLUSION OF BERLIN IN THE AGREEMENTS IS BASED ON THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT OF 1972. THIS RUNS COUNTER TO THE FRG THESIS THAT THE INCLUSION OF BERLIN IS BASED ON PROCEDURES DATING BACK TO 1952. ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, THE FRG SIDE DOES NOT SEE A NEED TO COUNTER THE SOVIET DECLARATION SINCE THE CLAUSE ITSELF CONTAINS A REFERENCE TO " ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES" THUS THE FRG FEELS ITS POSITION IS ADEQUATELY PROTECTED.

4. FONOFF REP SAID THAT THE CONCLUSION OF THE SCIENTIFIC- TECHNICAL AGREEMENT, WHICH HAS ALSO BEEN DELAYED BY DIFFICULTIES OVER BERLIN' S INCLUSION IN IT, REMAINS UNCERTAIN AT LEAST PRIOR TO BREZHNEV' S VISIT. WHILE THE SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO FOLLOW THE PATTERN DESCRIBED IN THE ABOVE PARAGRAPH FOR RESOLVING THE PROBLEM, THE FRG WANT THE BERLIN CLAUSE IN THE AGREEMENT TO SERVE AS A COVER FOR ALL SUBSEQUENT SUBAGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BY SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTES, FOUNDATIONS, ETC. THE SOVIETS ARE OPPOSED TO THIS UMBRELLA CONCEPT AND WANT A SPECIFIC DECISION AS TO WHETHER TO INCLUDE BERLIN OR NOT IN ANY SUBSEQUENT SUBAGREEMENT TO BE A MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION IN EACH SPECIFIC CASE. FALIN SHOWED NO GIVE ON THIS ITEM AT THE MAY 4 MEETING WITH FRANK.

5. CONCERNING THE DIFFICULTIES OVER INCLUSION OF A SPECIFIC MENTION OF WEST BERLIN AIRPORT TEGEL IN THE BILATERAL AIR ROUTE AGREEMENT, THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO BE UNBENDING. THEY ARGUE THAT SINCE THE ROUTE IN

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QUESTION FOR AEROFLOT DOES NOT INCLUDE EAST BERLIN' S AIRPORT SCHOENEFELD (UNLIKE THE 1971 AGREEMENT), THE FRG SHOULD NOT SEEK TO HAVE TEGEL EXPLICITLY REFERRED TO. THE SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO HAVE A VAGUE REFERENCE TO " ADDITIONAL POINTS" UNDER " KNOWN CONDITIONS" AS A WAY OF TAKING CARE OF THE FRG POINT. THE GERMANS DO NOT AT PRESENT CONSIDER THIS SUFFICIENT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BONN 6474

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6. OUR SOURCE SAID THAT OBVIOUSLY THERE HAD BEEN ENOUGH PROGRESS ON THE BERLIN ISSUES TO ENSURE THAT THE BREZHNEV VISIT WOULD PRODUCE SOME CONCRETE SIGNS OF FRG- USSR COOPERATION. HOWEVER, THE FONOFF REP SAID THAT THE GERMANS WERE BY NOW SO UPSET OVER THE SOVIET BEHCAVIOR ON BERLIN MATTERS, INCLUDING THEIR RECENT ACTIONS AT THE INDUSTRIAL EXHIBIT IN WEST BERLIN (BERLIN 752), THAT IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE CHANCELLOR WILL RAISE THE PROBLEM WITH BREZHNEV IN STIFF TERMS DURING THE LATTER' S VISIT.

7. COMMENT. FOR VARIOUS REASONS, NOT LEAST DOMESTIC ONES, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY SENSITIVE TO THE RESTRICTIVE SOVIET APPROACH TO THE FRG' S REPRESENTATION OF WEST BERLIN ABROAD. IT IS THUS CLEAR THAT IT INTENDS TO MAKE A SERIOUS ISSUE OF THE ENTIRE PROBLEM DURING BREZHNEV' S VISIT IN THE EXPECTATION THAT THIS WILL CLEAR UP THE MATTER FOR SOME TIME TO COME. OUR OWN ESTIMATE IS THAT THE FRG
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HAS SIMPLY GAINED A SOLUTION TO THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS
RELATING TO BERLIN: AS OTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE
SOVIETS COME UP IN THE FUTURE, THE GERMANS WILL HAVE
TO GO THROUGH THE SAME WEARING PROCESS TO GET
SOME SATISFACTION OF THEIR DESIRES VIS- A- VIS BERLIN.
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